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Mr. Chairman

Distinguished Members

Last year the UDT intervened for the first time in this Assembly, through its Secretary General, Mr. Paulo Pires. The intervention was warmly welcome by the Members of the fourth Committee, so its effects exceeded our best expectations.

The UDT(União Democrática Timorense) Secretary General based his intervention on his own personal witness and quoted many documents, including letters referring the situation in Timor until pratically one month before his intervention. He then revealed three facts, that:

1 - The integration of Timor with Indonesia proclaimed by Jakarta does not express the wish of the Timorese people;

2 - The Indonesian Government has not been able to carry out a policy of economic and social development in Timor, but has just fostered the elimination of the half of the Timorese population;

3 - The actions such as the Assembly set up in Dili and held to base the integration were merely farse well perpetrated and do not correspond to the reality.

From the results attained by our intervention, many friendly persons were surprised and they have asked us why UDT had not come earlier to testify at the United Nations. Anyhow the reason is very simple.

In fact when the refugees abandoned Timor, they left there all their belongings and fled just with the cloths on their bodies. Therefore, firstly, we had to fight for the guaranty of their survival. Having overcome this dramatic phase of our exile, another one arose and this can be considered as the security of our survival. Since then we began to think of intervening effectively in order to clarify the international public opinion on the drama of our people. That is why we want to stress that we

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are here because of the cooperation of all the timorese refugees who have had to undergo all kind of sacrifices to subscribe for the expenditure of our trip and presence here. This happened last year and happens this year.

Mr. Chairman

This year, as the President of UDT(União Democrática Timorense) in Lisbon, I have the honour to, on behalf of my party, come to this honourable Assembly and appeal to the distinguished representatives of the Nations now existing in the world to contribute for the resolution of both the humanitarian and mainly the political problems in East Timor.

The only thing allowing me to speak here and now is the fact of being a timorese. In fact I was born at a small village in the Central Region of Timor, South Coast where according to many sources the highest killings of the population has taken place. I myself at this moment know nothing about my parents whereabouts. Only two of my 7 sisters and brothers have survived. My sister is living now in Dili with her husband and brother. Do I have to accept that my numerous family has totally been decimated?

Anyway at this moment, what mainly encourages me to speak here is:

> Excluding few timorese who have adapted themselves to the new system, this is a situation which affects not only myself but all the timorese families as well. Actually I know many young timorese refugees in Portugal who up to now have known nothing about their parents, their brothers, etc.

Is this all dramatic? Yes, but these facts are only a pale image of the sufferings of our people. We better say of the remaining of our PEOPLE.

Many persons compare us with other people History registers as

exiled or submitted peoples. We are really exiled and oppressed in a phase of the Contemporary History History in which ends the chapter of the colonial empire and begins a vast process of self-determination of the peoples who are fighting to find again themselves in the purity of their traditions and habits.

Self-determination is a profound movement which makes the historic movement of the nations really attractive, with the obligatory participation of all their citizens.

The case of East Timor is precisely in this critical point, so it deserves a special treatment.

But the practical question I want to put is as follows:

> After the bloodshed suffered by the People of Timor, what will it have in future? The answer to this question implies a judgement and a knowledge of what is really happening in Timor, without demagogy and without any preconceived intention of distorting the truth.

Mr. Chairman

I want now to put with simplicity a practical question which will be the starting point of my analysis about the present situation in Timor. The question is easy and it is as follows:

> What is really going on in Timor at this moment?
> Is there still war? Are there still focuses of resistence in Timor?

As the answer, I want to declare clearly that at this moment the war of resistence has been over in Timor. The recognition of this fact does not certainly allow me to deny the value of the timorese soldiers who had bravely fought against the well equipped soldiers of the Indonesian Army. Yes, it must be clearly and once for all said that the war in Timor has been between the Indonesian Army and the Timorese trained by the Portuguese Army in a normal military instruction and preparation.

But it must be stressed that peace has already returned to Timor. It is a peace based upon an immense bloodshed poured out in vain, but it is a real peace. It is a terrible peace, because it has a very high price. More than 300.000 timorese killed, that is 50% of the Timorese population in accordance with the official census made by the Portuguese Government in 1974.

Actually, the small isolated groups of the resistence still existing spread over the mountains will soon desappear. Even the resistence of the Timorese in 1975 and 1976 had already had its end determined, i. e.,its aniquilation since it could not wait for external support.

But the peace imposed by the superiority of the guns force will never reach the hearts of the timorese. The wounds are still very deep and the memory of the killed relatives - except very few timorese there is no family who had not lost any member - will continue to bereave the hearts of the timorese. Therefore the feeling of the revolt and rebellion will be latent forever.

A sign of this feeling was an attempt of armed rebellion which took place simultaneously in Dili and other villages of Timor on the tenth of June 1980. As it was expected such a rebellion was a complete failure and all those involved were put into prison.

Tribe

No one knows the whereabout of the chiefs of this rebellion attempt. Where are they now? This is the question many people put to themselves.

The indonesian authorities are now facing a real problem of a peace imposed to a small people defeated who had resisted more time than any military strategist could expect.

Beyond the physical submission of the timorese people, the indonesian authorities need now to conquer its adhesion. To obtain this adhesion the indonesian authorities have already begun to carry out a plan of economic, social and educational development.

According to certain sources these budgets are of important and big amounts. But due to the failings of the administrative system in force only a small part of these budgets is used in the planned objectives. In fact few opportunists have managed to accumulate money from the public budgets for their own interests.
Anyhow, the peace imposed and the programme of the improvement already carried out can hardly attain total adhesion of the timorese. And this despite the indonesian authorities have already recognized that the timorese people is very sensible to the promotion and development initiatives.
Neither in Dili nor in the mountains exists natural happiness and friendly relations. The schools built by the indonesian Government are plenty of children who though with good uniforms have no joy and communicability which were their traditional mark. These facts are enough to conclude that the material realizations will not get total and happy adhesion of the timorese if they are not accompanied also by profound political and social transformations. Really we should always remember that with the portuguese colonization had received not only a different culture but also a different way of being, feeling and seing - what must be respected, otherwise they will continually be violated.

Mr. Chairman

Distinguished Members

The alive Timorese, surviving from a tragedy which should still interpellate the conscience of the Humanity are eagerly waiting for a political solution sible to the case of Timor. The United Nations Organization can and must find the solution for this problem which has been delayed year after year since 1975.
Well!.. It is known that Jakarta has been claiming the integration
On the other hand Portugal in article 308º of the present Consti-

tution declares that it is still bound to the responsibility of promoting the right of the Timorese people to selfdetermination and independence, in accordance with international laws. For our part we continue to claim that condition should be created so that our people can freely exercise its right for selfdetermination, choosing its own political statute.

Since 1975 successive resolutions and recomendations of the United Nations Organitation. have condemned the occupation of East Timor by the Indonesian forces and have demanded their immediato withdraw. in order to guarantee the right of the Timorese people to selfdetermiantion.

The communiqué by the Portuguese Government is a new fact to be taken into consideration. This document contains the programatic lines in which the Portuguese Government wishes to carry out for the solution of the problem of East Timor not only in humanitarian field but in political aspect as well.

According to it the Portuguese Government manifests its total readness to initiate consultations in the interested parts namely the countries of the area, the United States of America, Indonesia, Australia, Japan and also all the movements really representatives of the the timorese. On the other hand, the Portuguese Foreign Affairs Minister, in his recent intervention at the United Nations General Assembly has stressed that Portugal now has not any territorial claim over East Timor, but it cannot evade from its historical responsibilities. The present position assumed by Portugal corresponds our most profound wishes.

We, therefore, request and wish that all nations express also t their goodwill and cooperate with the Portuguese Government for the application of this programme of action. We specially make an appeal to Indonesia to be also ready for immediato and without previous conditions conversations with Portugal and other interested parts.

As one of the parts directly interested, we do not like also to obstruct the good will expressed by the Portugurse Government. Relating to Indonesia we react with some sympathy the initiatives the Jakarta Government is carrying out to improve the economic conditions of the Timorese. We would like also to point out the humanitarian suport already sent by the United States of America, Australia, Japan, EEC and by the religious congregations. This manifestation of international solidarity has already partially overcome the problem of famine and misery.

Mr. Chairman

Distinguished Members

Please allow me now to make a quick reference to the political alternatives which in the light of the United Nations Charter can be put for the solution of the problem of Timor.

Firstly: integration. It is easy to recognize that at this moment integration has already been obtained de facto.

Nevertheless, because it was worth 300.000 lives or more than 50% of the population of East Timor one can conclude that integration does not and will never express the wish of the Timorese. That is why its recognition will be against the most sacred principles of the United Nations Charter.

This, however, could be soften if the indonesian authorities would modify the obsolete administrative system introduced in Timor and would adopt the following measures:

- To give the places of more responsibility and representativeness to the timorese;
- To allow a major population participation in the Government decision and resolutions;
- To respect the local culture and traditions, such as language and the process of choosing the traditional authorities,

etc....

Secondly, Independence. As it is known now, this alternative was not accepted by Indonesia and other powers due to political reasons and because of little economic and social development. However it is importaant to know and stress now that economically East Timor has enormous potentialities in its soil, subsoil and it can rapidly be a rich territory with great surplus of production. Some sources say that the platform of Timor has in its hollow inhexhaustible stock of oil.

The soil of Timor has vallies and plains which, used judiciously for a rationalized agriculture can produce not only sufficient food for internal needs but for exportation as well. According to concrete informations the indonesian authorities have also reached the same conclusions. I want to remind you that before the tragedy the level of life was higher in Timor than in any other neighbouring islands.

In social aspect the fact of hoping a quick transformation was based upon a large expension of school network for the primary education in 1974. I must point out that there were then more 80% of the sukus with primary elementary schools. Besides this, in public administration more than 90% of the officials were Timorese.

Major deficiencies existed then in political fiel. They could, however, be overcome in a short or medium term, since conditions were created for a more active participation of our people in public issues. But these deficiencies not at all meant that our people had no clear conscience of its real political interests.

Finally, the reintegration of Timor under the sovereignty of Portugal. Since many powers including Indonesia had opposed to the independence of Timor, the maintenance of the portuguese sovereignty was the only solution left. After the well known events of 1975, this alternative is only on the plan of possibilities.

Even so it must be included in the schedule of possible political alternatives. Besides it, in strictly juridical plan, according to the literal sense of the charter of the United Nations, Portugal is still the administering power of East Timor.
For our part, due to the impracticableness of an immediate independence because of the conditions already mentioned and having tragically seen on the other hand that integration does not correspond to the real interest and wish of the people of East Timor, we do not reject this alternative.

Mr. Chairman

Distinguished Members
I am going to finish my intervention. This Committee has played an important and decisive role on the question of East Timor with the decisions and orientations.
This year Your Excellencies will play again an important role. Anyhow the background scenary is totally different. East Timor now is neither more a battlefield nor an oasis of peace. It has become an unpopulated island with the surviving population concentrated in vallies, villages and camps. Many former villages spotted on the mountains are deserted and their populations desappeared.
East Timor has now the peace of the cemitaries - a white peace which expresses sadness, death, oppression, famine and tragedy.
I, therefore, appeal to your human sentiment and justice to look for a solution which may correspond to the most profund wishes of my PEOPLE and may respect the most sacred principles of the United Nations Organizations.

Thank you Mr. Chairman -

PROPOSALS FOR SOLUTION:

Taking into consideration all the existing facts already discussed, we request that all political forces, international organizations and all governments recognize the imperative necessity of becoming mediators between Indonesia and Portugal to build up a road which will take to the solution of the conflict.

To this effect, we propose the realisation of the following actions and measures, to which we request your special attention:

1 - Discussions among highest-level officials from Portugal and Indonesia to determine the objectives to be achieved, as well as the time of its completion.

2 - Reestablisment of the diplomatic relations between Portugal and Indonesia, a essential condition for normalization in the relation among their governments and peoples, which has important cultural and historic ties.

3 - Definition of a treaty internationally acceptable, which will bring back the legalization of the situation.

4 - Replacement of the Indonesian Military Forces by either International Forces or Portuguese Forces under the auspices of the United Nations Organization, and/or as well as the Indonesian Forces.

5 - Financial and humanitarian support from both Portugal and International Organizations to ensure social, economic, and, political development of the people of East Timor.

6 - Creation of structures that would allow a minimum condition for Timor's political survival, in spite of all geo-political economic and social characteristics.